

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01138

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MNUC, PARM, PORG, UNSC, SF
SUBJECT: WESTERN FIVE DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICA NUCLEAR
ISSUE MARCH 28

REF: (A) STATE 077914, (B) USUN 1064
SUMMARY: WESTERN FIVE AGREED MARCH 28 THAT ANY ATTEMPTS
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TO HEAD OFF POSSIBLE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON THE
SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR QUESTION SHOULD BE INITIATED IN
AFRICAN CAPITALS AND NOT IN NEW YORK. OTHER AFRICANS
BESIDES NIGERIANS SHOULD BE APPROACHED. THE PROSPECTS
FOR SUCCESS OF SUCH EFFORTS WERE NOT BRIGHT BUT THEY
SHOULD BE MADE. WESTERN NUCLEAR POWERS NEEDED TO SPELL
OUT THEIR POSITION TO AFRICANS THAT A CUT-OFF OF NUCLEAR

COOPERATION TO SOUTH AFRICA WOULD UNDERMINE CHANCES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS AND COULD PROPEL SOUTH AFRICANS TOWARD PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. FIVE ALSO AGREED THAT IT WAS PREMATURE FOR THEM TO BEGIN ORCHRESTRATING APPROACHES TO AFRICANS UNTIL THEY HAD AGREED AMONG THEMSELVES ON COMMON DEFINITIONS OF "NUCLEAR COOPERATION" AND, ESPECIALLY, OF "ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS". FIVE ALSO NEEDED TO DEVELOP COMMON CONTINGENCY POSITIONS ON THE VARIOUS OPTIONS FOR RESOLUTIONS THAT COULD ARISE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. FIVE AGREED TO REFER ABOVE QUESTIONS TO CAPITALS BEFORE MEETING AGAIN ON THIS SUBJECT. END SUMMARY.

1. WESTERN FIVE MET MARCH 28 TO DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICA NUCLEAR ISSUE. AMB MCHENRY LED OFF DISCUSSION BY DESCRIBING BREZHNEV APPROACH TO PRESIDENT CARTER AND USG RESPONSE THAT SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD NOT BE THE APPROPRIATE PLACE TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE. MCHENRY SAID THAT WASHINGTON AGREED THAT SC ACTION PROBABLY COULD NOT BE TURNED OFF BY EFFORTS IN NEW YORK AND THAT ANY EFFORTS TO DO SO IN CAPITALS SHOULD NOT CONCENTRATE ON JUST THE NIGERIANS. THE US, HE SAID, PLANNED TO TAKE THE SUBJECT UP AT A HIGH LEVEL IN LAGOS. MCHENRY THEN BRIEFLY DESCRIBED RECENT US EFFORTS, INCLUDING A VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA BY A US TECHNICAL TEAM, TO CONVINCE SOUTH AFRICANS TO IMPLEMENT SAFE-CONFIDENTIAL

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GUARDS. HE CONCLUDED BY ASKING FOR VIEWS OF THE FOUR ON SUBSTANCE, OBJECTIVES AND ALLIED STRATEGY.

2. VON WECHMAR (FRG) WONDERED IF THERE WAS ANY POINT IN TRYING TO TURN OFF A SC MEETING, CONSIDERING THE ODDS AGAINST SUCH AN EFFORT. BARTON (CANADA) WAS ALSO PESSIMISTIC.

3. LEPRETTE (FRANCE) SAID THAT FRANCE WISHED TO MAINTAIN ITS NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA, PROVIDED SAG ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS. TO REFUSE COOPERATION WOULD ONLY ENSURE THAT THE SAG WOULD PROCEED TOWARDS THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THIS POINT NEEDED TO BE MADE, AND MADE SOON, TO AFRICANS. HE SAID THAT USSR PERMREP TROYANOVSKY HAD MADE NO SECRET OF USSR DESIRE FOR AN SC MEETING.

4. UK (MURRAY) ALSO NOTED RECENT ACTIVITY BY TROYANOVSKY IN PROMOTING AN SC MEETING AMONG AFRICAN MEMBERS. MURRAY AGREED THAT WESTERN DEMARCHES TO JUSTIFY THEIR POSITION ON NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA (AND TO OPPOSE SC MEETING) WOULD HAVE MORE EFFECT IN CAPITALS

THAN IN NEW YORK. MC HENRY SAID, SECONDED BY BARTON, THAT ONE OF THE KEY ARGUMENTS WAS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ALREADY WERE BUILDING AN (UNSAFEGUARDED) ENRICHMENT PLANT ON THEIR OWN; THAT PLAN WILL REMAIN UNSAFEGUARDED UNLESS WEST WAS ABLE TO GAIN COOPERATION OF SAG THROUGH CURRENT EFFORTS.

5. MURRAY SAID THAT KEY REQUIREMENT NOW WAS DEVELOP-

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01138

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

MENT OF A JOINT RATIONALE BY FIVE (OR BY NUCLEAR THREE)
FOR USE IN CAPITALS ON THEIR CURRENT STANCE REGARDING
NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND ON THEIR
OPPOSITION TO SC ACTION. THIS HAVING BEEN DONE, UK

COULD CERTAINLY AGREE TO JOIN LOBBYING EFFORT.

6. LEPRETTE THEN SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WISHED TO
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ASK FOR POSITION OF FIVE ON A SC RESOLUTION PROVISION
WHICH "CALLS UPON ALL STATES TO CEASE THE EXPORT TO
SOUTH AFRICA OF ANY NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY,
MATERIAL, OR EQUIPMENT IF SOUTH AFRICA REFUSED TO PUT
ITS NUCLEAR FACILITIES UNDER IAEA CONTROL".
MCHENRY AND BARTON SAID THAT THE REAL QUESTION WAS THE
TYPE OF CONTROLS FRENCH ENVISAGED. FULL CYCLE SAFE-
GUARDS WERE ONE THING; LESS THAN FULL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS
WERE SOMETHING ELSE. MCHENRY, AND ESPECIALLY BARTON,
OFFERED OPINION THAT FRENCH FORMULATION DID NOT GO
FAR ENOUGH IN THE DIRECTION OF SAFEGUARDS.

7. LEPRETTE THEN ASKED, ASSUMING THAT FIVE COULD AGREE
ON APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE REGARDING SAFEGUARDS, COULD
FIVE AGREE TO PUT FORWARD A RESOLUTION OF THIS TYPE
IN THE COUNCIL AND OPPOSE ANY DRAFT WHICH CONDEMNED
ALL NUCLEAR COOPERATION? NONE OF THE OTHER FOUR FELT
THAT SUCH A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION COULD BE
ANSWERED AT THIS TIME.

8. CONCLUSION: THE FIVE (ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR THREE)
AGREED AN APPROACH TO
AFRICANS WAS WORTH TRYING, THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE
LIMITED TO NIGERIANS, AND THAT IT SHOULD BE MADE IN
CAPITALS. THE FIVE ALSO BELIEVED THAT IT WAS PREMATURE
TO BEGIN ORCHESTRATING APPROACHES TO AFRICANS BEFORE
THE FIVE HAD AGREED AMONG THEMSELVES ON SUBSTANCE OF
THE APOROAAPPROACH TO BE MADE. FIVE WERE AGREED ON
THE BASIC CONCEPT THAT A CUTOFF OF NUCLEAR COOPERATION
WOULD UNDERMINE CHANCES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN AGREEMENT
TO ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS AND COULD PROPEL SOUTH AFRICANS
TOWARD PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IN EXPLAINING
THIS CONCEPT TO AFRICANS, HOWEVER, THE FIVE NEEDED
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COMMON DEFINITIONS OF "NUCLEAR COOPERATION" AND,
ESPECIALLY, OF "ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS". THE FIVE ALSO
NEEDED COMMON POSITION ON VARIOUS OPTIONS OF RESOLUTIONS
WHICH COULD PRESENT THEMSELVES DURING ANY SC DEBATE,
E.G., OUTRIGHT CUTOFF, CUTOFF CONTINGENT ON SAG
REFUSAL OF ADEQUATE INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS, AND CUT-

OFF OF ONLY THAT COOPERATION WHICH COULD POSSIBLY
ASSIST SAG'S CAPABILITY TO MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
LEONARD

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